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EDUCATION

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| 2013 | Ph.D. in Economics, Harvard University |
| 2006 | B.A. in Mathematics and Economics, Swarthmore College |

EMPLOYMENT

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 2023- | Joseph A. Pechman Senior Fellow in Economic Studies & Senior Fellow, Brookings Schaeffer Initiative on Health Policy, Economic Studies Program, Brookings Institution |
| 2022-2023 | Senior Fellow, USC-Brookings Schaeffer Initiative for Health Policy, Economic Studies Program, Brookings Institution |
| 2017-2022 | Fellow, USC-Brookings Schaeffer Initiative for Health Policy, Economic Studies Program, Brookings Institution |
| 2015-2017 | Chief Economist, Council of Economic Advisers |
| 2013-2015 | Senior Economist, Council of Economic Advisers |
| 2013 | Economist, Council of Economic Advisers |
| 2006-2008 | Research Assistant, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities |

PUBLICATIONS AND POLICY WRITING

- “A brief look at current debates about pharmacy benefit managers.” Brookings Institution. September 2023. (with Loren Adler and Richard Frank).
- “How much can an out-of-network cap reduce in-network prices?” Brookings Institution. June 2023. (with Bich Ly).
- “Weighing policy options for returning savings from site-neutral payment reforms to hospitals.” Brookings Institution. May 2023. (with Benedic Ippolito and Loren Adler).
- “Assessing recent health care proposals from the House Committee on Energy and Commerce.” Brookings Institution. May 2023. (with Loren Adler and Benedic Ippolito).
- “Final 2024 payment rule, part 2: Risk adjustment.” *Health Affairs Forefront*. April 2023.

“Comments on 2024 Medicare Part C and D Advance Notice.” Brookings Institution. March 2023.

“Comments on risk adjustment policies in the 2024 payment rule.” Brookings Institution. January 2023. (with Timothy Layton).

“Comments on Marketplace enrollment policies in the 2024 payment rule.” Brookings Institution. January 2023. (with Adrianna McIntyre).

“Assessing two approaches to closing the Medicaid coverage gap.” Brookings Institution. January 2023.

“Proposed 2024 payment rule, Part 2: Risk adjustment.” *Health Affairs Forefront*. December 2022.

“Tweaking the Marketplace enrollment process could magnify effects of larger premium tax credits.” Brookings Institution. September 2022. (with Adrianna McIntyre).

“Comments on the Medicare Shared Savings Program.” Brookings Institution. September 2022.

“Comments on the Request for Information on Medicare.” Brookings Institution. September 2022. (with Loren Adler, Richard G. Frank, and Marta E. Wosińska)

“The Supreme Court left millions of Americans uninsured: Here’s what Congress can do to cover them.” *The Hill*. July 2022.

“Eliminating small Marketplace premiums could meaningfully increase insurance coverage.” Brookings Institution. June 2022.

“The economic case for federal investment in COVID-19 vaccines and therapeutics remains strong.” Brookings Institution. April 2022. (with Susan Athey, Rena M. Conti, Richard G. Frank, and Jonathan Gruber).

“What does economy-wide inflation mean for the prices of health care services (and vice versa)?” Brookings Institution. March 2022.

“Comments on the 2023 Advance Notice on Medicare Part C and D Payment Parameters.” Brookings Institution. March 2022. (with Richard G. Frank).

“CMS should abandon its ‘two-stage’ risk adjustment estimation proposal.” Brookings Institution. January 2022. (with Timothy Layton).

“Comments on the 2023 Notice of Benefit and Payment Parameters.” Brookings Institution. January 2022. (with Loren Adler and Erin Duffy).

“Comments on the Georgia Access Model.” Brookings Institution. January 2022. (with Linda Blumberg).

“Comments on No Surprises Act Rulemaking: Part II.” Brookings Institution. December 2021. (with Loren Adler and Benedic Ippolito).

- “Comments on HHS-operated risk adjustment technical paper on possible model changes.” Brookings Institution. December 2021. (with Timothy Layton).
- “How would filling the Medicaid ‘coverage gap’ affect hospital finances?” Brookings Institution. November 2021.
- “Comments on No Surprises Act Rulemaking: Part I.” Brookings Institution. September 2021. (with Loren Adler and Benedic Ippolito).
- “Options for containing the cost of a new Medicare dental, hearing, and vision benefit.” Brookings Institution. September 2021.
- “Comments on the development of a public health insurance option.” Brookings Institution. August 2021. (with Loren Adler).
- “Comments on a CMS proposal to allow year-round Marketplace enrollment for low-income people.” Brookings Institution. August 2021.
- “‘Equal weighting’ is a poor framework for arbitration decisions under the No Surprises Act.” Brookings Institution. June 2021. (with Benedic Ippolito and Loren Adler)
- “The case for replacing ‘Silver Loading’” Brookings Institution. May 2021.
- “Designing a public option that would reduce health care provider prices.” Brookings Institution. May 2021.
- “Congress should end dialysis companies’ third-party games with insurance coverage.” Stat News. April 2021. (with Erin Trish and Eugene Lin).
- “Payment for Dialysis Services in the Individual Market.” *JAMA Internal Medicine*. March 2021. (with Erin Trish, Ning Ning, Laura Gascue, Loren Adler, and Eugene Lin)
- “Enrollment in nongroup health insurance by income group.” Brookings Institution. March 2021.
- “Recommendations for implementing the No Surprises Act.” Brookings Institution. March 2021. (with Loren Adler and Benedic Ippolito).
- “Understanding the No Surprises Act.” Brookings Institution. February 2021. (with Loren Adler, Paul B. Ginsburg, Markm Hall, Benedic Ippolito, and Erin Trish).
- “Comments on the 2022 Notice of Benefit and Payment Parameters.” Brookings Institution. December 2020. (with Timothy Layton).
- “Capping prices or creating a public option: how would they change what we pay for health care?” Brookings Institution. November 2020.
- “What Can Be Done to Improve All-Payer Claims Databases?” Commonwealth Fund To The Point Blog. October 2020. (with Christen Linke Young).

- “Federal policy options to realize the potential of APCDs.” Brookings Institution. October 2020. (with Christen Linke Young).
- “Competing Visions for the Future of Health Policy.” *New England Journal of Medicine*. 383:1197-1199. September 2020.
- “Estimating potential spending on COVID-19 care.” Brookings Institution. May 2020. (with Zirui Song).
- “States Are Being Crushed By The Coronavirus. Only This Can Help.” *New York Times*. April 2020.
- “States will need more fiscal relief. Policymakers should make that happen automatically.” Brookings Institution. April 2020. (with Wilson Powell III).
- “What are the health coverage provisions in the House coronavirus bill?” Brookings Institution. March 2020 (with Christen Linke Young and Loren Adler).
- “The ACA’s Individual Mandate In Retrospect: What Did It Do, And Where Do We Go From Here?” *Health Affairs*. 39(3):429-435. March 2020.
- “Health care in President Trump’s fiscal year 2021 budget.” *JAMA Health Forum*. February 2020. (with Loren Adler and Christen Linke Young).
- “What is surprise billing for medical care?” Brookings Institution. October 2019. (with Christen Linke Young, Loren Adler, and Sobin Lee).
- “What would the 2020 candidates’ proposals mean for health care coverage?” Brookings Institution. October 2019. (with Christen Linke Young).
- “Current debates in health care policy: a brief overview.” Brookings Institution. October 2019. (with Christen Linke Young).
- “What is surprise billing?” Brookings Institution. August 2019. (with Christen Linke Young, Loren Adler, and Sobin Lee).
- “The Trump administration’s final HRA rule: Similar to the proposed but some notable choices.” Brookings Institution. June 2019. (with Christen Linke Young and Jason Levitis).
- “Comments on the Lower Health Care Costs Act of 2019.” Brookings Institution. June 2019. (with Loren Adler, Paul Ginsburg, and Christen Linke Young).
- “Comments on the No Surprises Act.” Brookings Institution. May 2019. (with Loren Adler, Paul Ginsburg, and Christen Linke Young).
- “Increasing Federal Support for State Medicaid and CHIP Programs in Response to Economic Downturns.” (with Jason Furman and Wilson Powell III). In *Recession Ready*, Heather Boushey, Ryan Nunn, and Jay Shambaugh, editors. May 2019.

- “Network Matching: An Attractive Solution to Surprise Billing.” *Health Affairs Blog*. May 2019. (with Loren Adler and Benedic Ippolito).
- “Building on the ACA to achieve universal coverage.” *New England Journal of Medicine*. 380(18):168-1688. March 2019. (with Henry J. Aaron, Loren Adler, Paul B. Ginsburg, and Christen Linke Young).
- “State approaches to mitigating surprise out-of-network billing.” Brookings Institution. February 2019. (with Loren Adler, Paul B. Ginsburg, Mark Hall, Erin Trish, Christen Linke Young, and Erin Duffy).
- “Effects of weakening safeguards in the Administration’s Health Reimbursement Arrangement proposal.” Brookings Institution. December 2018.
- “Evaluating the administration’s Health Reimbursement Arrangement proposal.” Brookings Institution. December 2018. (with Christen Linke Young and Jason Levitis).
- “Comments on CMS’ Proposed Rule, ‘Medicare Shared Savings Program; Accountable Care Organizations – Pathways to Success.’” Brookings Institution. October 2018.
- “CMS’ positive step on site-neutral payments and the case for going further.” Brookings Institution. August 2018. (with Loren Adler, Andrés de Loera-Brust, Paul B. Ginsburg, and Will Palmisano)
- “How would individual market premiums change in 2019 in a stable policy environment?” Brookings Institution. August 2018.
- “How did the ACA’s individual mandate affect insurance coverage? Evidence from coverage decisions by higher income people.” Brookings Institution. May 2018.
- “Congress should replace Medicare’s Merit-Based Incentive Payment System.” *Health Affairs Blog*. February 2018. (with Tim Gronniger, Paul Ginsburg, Kavita Patel, Loren Adler, and Margaret Darling)
- “How to interpret the Cadillac tax rate: a technical note.” Brookings Institution. February 2018.
- “Recommended Actions for States to Protect Their Health Insurance Markets.” *Health Affairs Blog*. January 2018. (with Jeanne Lambrew, Aviva Aron-Dine, Sam Berger, and Jason Levitis).
- “Repealing the individual mandate would do substantial harm.” Brookings Institution. November 2017.
- “Taking stock of insurer financial performance in the individual health insurance market through 2017.” Brookings Institution. October 2017.
- “The Graham-Cassidy Plan—The Most Harmful ACA-Repeal Bill Yet.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 377(16):e23. October 2017. (with Henry J. Aaron, Loren Adler, and Paul B. Ginsburg)

- “How will the Graham-Cassidy proposal affect the number of people with health insurance coverage?” Brookings Institution. September 2017. (with Loren Adler)
- “How would the revised Senate health care bill affect individual market premiums in 2026 and over the long run?” Brookings Institution. July 2017. (with Loren Adler)
- “Requirement to maintain a ‘single risk pool’ would not contain effects of Cruz’s proposal.” Brookings Institution. July 2017.
- “Sen. Cruz’s proposed change to Senate health care bill would undermine protections for enrollees with significant health care needs.” Brookings Institution. July 2017.
- “Turmoil in the Individual Insurance Market—Where it Came From and How to Fix It.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 377(4):314-315. July 2017. (with Henry J. Aaron, Loren Adler, Paul B. Ginsburg, and Alice M. Rivlin)
- “How would the Senate’s health care bill affect individual market premiums?” Brookings Institution. June 2017. (with Loren Adler)
- “Effects of the more austere Medicaid per capita cap included in the Senate’s health bill,” Brookings Institution. June 2017. (with Loren Adler and Tim Gronniger)
- “Like the AHCA, the Senate’s health care bill could weaken ACA protections against catastrophic costs.” Brookings Institution. June 2017.
- “Moving in the Wrong Direction—Health Care under the AHCA.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 376(25):2405-2407. June 2017. (with Henry J. Aaron, Loren Adler, and Paul B. Ginsburg)
- “Effects of the Medicaid per capita cap included in the House-passed American Health Care Act.” Brookings Institution. May 2017. (with Loren Adler and Tim Gronniger)
- “Allowing states to define ‘essential health benefits’ could weaken ACA protections against catastrophic costs for people with employer coverage nationwide.” Brookings Institution. May 2017.
- “New amendment to GOP health bill effectively allows full eliminating of community rating, exposing sick to higher premiums.” Brookings Institution. April 2017.
- “How should the Trump Administration handle Medicare’s new bundled payment programs?” Health Affairs Blog. April 2017. (with Loren Adler, Paul B. Ginsburg, Tim Gronniger, and Kavita Patel)
- “New changes to essential benefits in GOP health bill could jeopardize protections against catastrophic costs, even for people with job-based coverage.” Brookings Institution. March 2017.
- “The House GOP amended its health care bill, but CBO estimates of coverage losses are not likely to meaningfully improve.” Brookings Institution. March 2017. (with Loren Adler)

“How will the House GOP health care bill affect individual market premiums?” Brookings Institution. March 2017. (with Loren Adler)

“Expect the CBO to estimate large coverage losses from the GOP health care plan.” Brookings Institution. March 2017. (with Loren Adler)

“Comments on CMS’s ‘Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act; Market Stabilization.’” Brookings Institution. March 2017.

“Trump administration’s proposed change to ACA special enrollment periods could backfire.” Brookings Institution. February 2017.

“New data on sign-ups through the ACA’s Marketplaces should lay ‘death spiral’ claims to rest.” Brookings Institution. February 2017.

“The Economic Record of that Obama Administration: Reforming the Health Care System.” Council of Economic Advisers. December 2016. (with Jason Furman)

“More Than 3 Million Children Have Coverage Due to Drop in Uninsured Rate Since 2008.” Council of Economic Advisers. October 2016. (with Jason Furman)

“New Data Show that Premium Growth in Employer Coverage Remained Low in 2016.” Council of Economic Advisers. September 2016. (with Jason Furman)

“Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance in the United States in 2015.” Council of Economic Advisers. September 2016. (with Sandra Black and Jason Furman)

“Updated Health Care Spending Projections Show Continued Slow Growth in Health Costs.” Council of Economic Advisers. July 2016. (with Jason Furman)

“The Cadillac Tax—A Crucial Tool for Delivery System Reform.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 374(11):1008-1009. March 2016. (with Jason Furman)

“2014 Saw Continued Slow Growth in the Cost of Health Care, Even as Coverage Expanded.” Council of Economic Advisers. December 2015. (with Jason Furman)

“New Data Show Slow Health Care Cost Growth is Continuing.” Council of Economic Advisers. September 2015. (with Jason Furman)

“Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance in the United States in 2014.” Council of Economic Advisers. September 2015. (with Sandra Black and Jason Furman)

“New Data and Updated Report Show Medicaid Is Expanding Insurance Coverage, with Major Benefits to States’ Citizens and Economies.” Council of Economic Advisers. June 2015. (with Jason Furman)

“Continuing the Affordable Care Act’s Progress on Delivery System Reform is an Economic Imperative.” Council of Economic Advisers. March 2015. (with Jason Furman)

- “4.5 Million Young Adults Have Gained Coverage Since 2010, Improving Access to Care and Benefitting Our Economy.” Council of Economic Advisers. January 2015. (with Jason Furman)
- “2014 Has Seen Largest Coverage Gains in Four Decades, Putting the Uninsured Rate At or Near Historic Lows.” Council of Economic Advisers. December 2014. (with Jason Furman)
- “Historically Slow Growth in Health Spending Continued in 2013, and Data Show Underlying Slow Cost Growth Is Continuing.” Council of Economic Advisers. December 2014. (with Jason Furman)
- “New Data Show Early Progress in Expanding Coverage, with More Gains to Come.” Council of Economic Advisers. September 2014. (with Jeanne Lambrew)
- “New Report Shows that Slow Health Care Spending Growth Continued in 2013, While Near-Term Trends Remain Encouraging.” Council of Economic Advisers. September 2014. (with Jason Furman)
- “Alongside Expanded Coverage, Underlying Slow Growth in Health Costs is Continuing.” Council of Economic Advisers. May 2014. (with Jason Furman)
- “Lessons From the Telephone Lifeline Program Add To Concerns About Using Utilities to Deliver Low-Income Climate Rebates.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. July 2008.
- “How Low-Income Consumers Fare in the Senate Climate-Change Bill.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. June 2008. (with Martha Coven, Robert Greenstein, and Chad Stone)
- “The Effects of Climate-Change Policies on the Federal Budget and the Budgets of Low-Income Households.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. May 2008. (with Chad Stone)
- “Historical Averages Not a Meaningful Benchmark for Future Revenues.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. August 2007. (with Richard Kogan)
- “The Congressional Budget Plan.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. May 2007. (with James Horney and Richard Kogan)
- “How Should Policymakers Treat the Budget for Non-Defense Discretionary Programs.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. March 2007. (with Robert Greenstein and Richard Kogan)
- “President’s Budget Calls for Deep Cuts in a Wide Range of Domestic Programs.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. March 2007. (with Sharon Parrott)
- “The Long-Term Fiscal Outlook is Bleak.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. January 2007. (with Aviva Aron-Dine, James Horney, and Richard Kogan)

“From Surplus to Deficit.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. December 2006. (with Richard Kogan)

“Recent Action by Congress Sets Up Larger Appropriations Cuts in Lame-Duck Session.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. October 2006. (with Martha Coven and James Horney).

“Even With New Budget Projections, Budget Deterioration from 2000-2006 Will Be the Largest 6-Year Deterioration in Half a Century.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. August 2006. (with Richard Kogan)

“Proposed Discretionary Caps Would Hit States Hard.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. July 2006. (with James Horney and Arloc Sherman)

“CBO Finds Tiny Number of Farms Face Estate Tax.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. July 2005. (with Joel Friedman)

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS, PANEL PARTICIPATION, AND TESTIMONY

“Overregulation in Health Care and the Impact on Small Businesses.” House Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee on Oversight, Investigations, and Regulations. July 2023.

“The ACA’s 3 Rs of 2024: Rating Compliance, Rationale, and Risk Adjustment.” Society of Actuaries Virtual Health Meeting. July 2023.

“Marketplace Enrollment and Plan Offerings: A Status Report.” University of Pennsylvania Health Insurance Exchange Conference. March 2023.

“Building a Better NIH.” Brookings Institution. October 2022. (discussant)

“Revising payment to Medicare Advantage plans to reflect the rapid growth in enrollment.” Brookings Institution. July 2022.

“Medicare and Inflation.” Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. July 2022.

“State Actions to Address the Cost of Marketplace Coverage.” Center for American Progress. February 2022.

“Would ‘Medicare for All’ Mean Quality for All? How Public-Option Principles Could Reverse Medicare’s Negative Impact on Quality.” Cato Institute. January 2022.

“Roundtable on Medicare trust fund solvency.” Urban Institute. March 2021.

“Quick reports from the academy/think tanks.” University of Pennsylvania Annual Health Insurance Exchange Conference. March 2021.

“Will Medicare Run Out of Money?” Bipartisan Policy Center, USC-Brookings Schaeffer Initiative, and American Enterprise Institute. March 2021.

- “How can the Biden administration improve the Medicaid program?” Brookings Institution. February 2021.
- “Health care price regulation and public options: Assessing approaches to increasing the public role.” Brookings Institution. Washington, DC. September 2020.
- “Moving toward universal coverage: policy approaches.” University of Southern California. September 2019.
- “Louisiana’s prescription drug experiment: A model for the nation?” Brookings Institution. July 2019. (moderator)
- “Medicare Physician Payment Reform After Two Years: Examining MACRA Implementation and the Road Ahead.” Senate Finance Committee. May 2019.
- “Conference on Universal Health Care.” Massachusetts Medical Society. October 2018.
- “Sixth Annual Health Insurance Exchange Conference.” University of Pennsylvania. September 2018.
- “Can MIPS be salvaged?” Brookings Institution. July 2018.
- “Sustainable Health Spending: Serious Issues—Sound Policy Solutions.” Altarum Event. July 2018.
- “(De)stabilizing the ACA’s individual market: A view from the states,” Brookings Institution. July 2018.
- “What’s Ahead for the Individual Health Insurance Market?” Brookings Institution. March 2018.
- “Health System 100 Leadership Conference.” Health System 100. October 2017.
- “Federation of American Hospitals Board of Governors Meeting.” Federation of American Hospitals. October 2017.
- “Connecticut Health Council DC Forum,” Connecticut Health Council. September 2017.
- “Fifth Annual Health Insurance Exchange Conference,” University of Pennsylvania. September 2017.
- “Protecting Patients from Surprise Medical Bills.” Brookings Institution. October 2016.
- “The Impact of Rising Health Care Costs on Economic Well-Being.” Mercatus Center. October 2016.
- “Productivity Growth in America’s Health Care System.” Stanford University. May 2016.
- “Taxes and Subsidies in the Affordable Care Act.” National Tax Association Spring Symposium. May 2016. (discussant)

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member, Technical Expert Panel on All-Payer Claims Databases, RAND Corporation and Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health and Human Services. August 2022.

Member, Expert Panel on the No Surprises Act and Health Care Consolidation, RAND Corporation and Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health and Human Services. January 2022.

Member, National Academy of Social Insurance COVID-19 Task Force Policy Translation Working Group, August 2021-present.

Member, Congressional Budget Office Health Insurance Model Technical Review Panel, September 2018-August 2020.

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

2011-2013	NBER Pre-Doctoral Fellowship in Aging and Health Economics
2006	Swarthmore College Ivy Award
2005	Harry S. Truman Scholarship

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2011	Teaching Fellow, American Economic Policy, Harvard University
2010	Teaching Fellow, Microeconomic Theory, Harvard University